subordinate, that the Ukapist appeal for inclusion was definitely 665
rejected and that the group was offered the choice of suppression or of self-liquidation. They accordingly accepted the voluntary decision and signed thus their own death warrants as had the Borotbisty by their early submission.

All three parties had the same general attitude toward all non-Communists and bourgeois groups. They were in general agreement that these had to be destroyed and driven from political and social importance. Thus, all adopted a hostile attitude toward the nationalists who had supported Petlyura and the Ukrainian National Republic. They attacked the remains of the Social Revolutionists, the Social Democrats, and all the non-Marxian or Marxian groups that did not accept a strict Communism. They dissolved the organizations and seized their property, while they imprisoned many of the older leaders and tried to humiliate them in the eyes of the Ukrainian public.

Thus in 1921, they staged in Kharkiv a public trial of the [687]
members of the Executive Committee of the Social Revolutionists. The list included V. Holubovych, the Prime Minister at the time of Brest-Litovsk, N. Petrenko, P. Hubenko (Ostap Vyshnya), Lyzanivsky and many others. They were charged with hostility to the "government of workers and peasants" but apparently the regime was not too sure of its ground and merely sentenced them to relatively short terms in prison.

It was not only the politicians who suffered, for the new regime[1] 661
attacked every institution which it did not control. In 1920 575 ●
it abolished all Ukrainian professional organizations and trades unions, including such as the Poltava Society of Workers in Co-operatives and similar groups in Kiev, Kharkiv, and other cities. Then, by arrests of the leaders of the cooperative societies, it forced new elections and put into power only those persons who had the direct approval of the Russian Bolsheviks.

It was next the turn of the purely cultural organizations. All the societies of the Prosvita (Enlightenment) which operated a chain of reading rooms, schools, libraries, theatres, etc. were disbanded on the ground that they were connected with the Rada

[1] [Ukrainian Soviet Republic -- Analyst]

661 of the old Ukrainian National Republic. The regime arrested and
575 shot as chauvinist counter-revolutionists many of the active workers. Those who were spared at the moment were treated as members of the proscribed classes and were punished by the exclusion of their children from schools, the denial of food cards, etc., all the traditional devices to eliminate the counter-revolutionary and suspected classes.

At the same time the government confiscated all the funds of educational institutions and the private organizations which had, during the Ukrainian National Republic and earlier, been interested in educational and scientific work. It closed the Ukrainian scientific societies in Kharkiv and Kiev and it put an end to all of the pre-Soviet journals, newspapers, and magazines. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences which had been planned during the regime of Hetman Skoropadsky but had not commenced its work, was treated somewhat more leniently and it was allowed to open largely to support the pretext that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was an independent state, although it was made clear that Communist influence would be exerted on its statutes and organization.

517 Such a period of intellectual disintegration could not fail to leave its mark on all aspects of Ukrainian culture and art. The older writers who had achieved some prominence before 1914 either retired again into the emigration or they became silent. The younger generation, which was just rising into prominence, was either driven into temporary seclusion or, for the most part, swept into the surging current of events. They felt the leftward urge of many of the intellectuals and tried in one way or another to catch the spirit of the times in their works.

Yet it must be realized that, as in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, there still did not exist a predominant party line in the field of literature and the arts. Writers, painters and dramatists of widely differing tendencies accepted the revolution and loudly protested that they and they alone were the true mouthpieces of the times and greedily sought for support from the commissars.

They were the more fortunate in this because the bulk of the

± [Eradication of pre-communist cultural organizations in 1920 -- Analyst]

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

nationalist who lived through the period, describes the former as persons who thought on a "planetary" level, desiring to solve all the world's problems at once and regarding the claims of national affinity as "parochial." One, his schoolmate, was Volodymyr Zatons'kyi, who was later to become one of the most implacable of Communist officials in the Ukraine. Even before the war, he, according to the writer, refused to have anything to do with Ukrainian cultural activities, like the Prosvita [enlightenment] society in the city of Kamenets-Podolsk (Kamianets-Podils'k), where they were students. Rather, he associated with "foreigners," Russians and Jews, and was rapidly drawn into the revolutionary socialist movement.[20] The basis for a choice in this generation of young intellectuals appears to have been chance, or the psychological make-up of the individual, which was reinforced increasingly by the cumulative impact of associations formed after the initial choice was taken. Thus by the time the revolutionary conflicts drew to a close, the educated classes in the Ukraine were deeply split. Even more divided was the real foundation of any independence movement, the peasants. They—or at least those who were somewhat more prosperous than the average—had initially welcomed the Ukrainian governments. The increasing impotence of the new regimes and their preoccupation with factional strife and unrealistic programs instead of practical measures caused much indifference or disaffection among the peasants. In the judgment of one of the ablest students of the revolutionary period, however, the Ukrainian peasant preferred a nationalist government to either a Red or a "White" administration supporting a central regime.[21]

That the Communists were victors in the physical struggle is no proof of greater popular support, for much of their strength

[20] Vyktor (Victor) Prykhodko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 18–19, 1942, p. 2.

[21] William H. Chamberlin, *The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944). Moreover, one of the best Communist historians of the revolutionary period in the Ukraine, M. G. Rafes, a former adherent of the Jewish Bund, says the "natural" development of the peasants (and workers, especially in the sugar refineries in the small towns) was to "national socialism," "the Ukraine for the Ukrainian peasants," although he of course adds that they were inspired by the "reactionary bourgeois intelligentsia"; see *Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukraine: Evoliutsiia i raskol "Bunda"* (Two Years of Revolution in the Ukraine: The Evolution and Division of the "Bund") (Moscow, 1920), p. 8.

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It was much more difficult to secure a predominant place for the nationalist ideology in the schools. As is usually the case in nationalist indoctrination in the schools, the efforts were concentrated upon the teaching of history.[41] This was especially important, since the justification of the Ukrainian independence movement is largely based upon the conception of a proud history distinct from that of the people of Moscow. Naturally enough, no Soviet textbooks were acceptable for the teaching of history from this point of view or from the general standpoint of eradicating Communist indoctrination. To some extent the gap was filled by books published in the year preceding the Soviet war by the educational press of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow.[42] Some texts were printed by the cultural department of the Kiev city administration. An amateurish effort was made also by certain OUN-B organizers to print locally a new version of Ukrainian history with an introduction of their own composition.[43] In view of the great material shortages and the brief time available, however, the lack of printed materials could not be made good. Consequently, a great deal depended on securing the proper teachers. To what extent the many thousands employed in the schools adhered to the nationalist doctrine is of course impossible to determine, but a number of purely indigenous formulations of nationalist concepts to be inculcated in the schools attest to the strength of nationalist feeling. The head of the Mariupol' school system proposed to stress the native language, love of the fatherland, and respect for elders; the educational ideology advocated by the group of young men who reorganized life in Krivoi Rog was instillation of Cossack ideals, the code of the Zaporozhian Sich, which was to lead to a spiritual, moral, and physical regeneration.[44]

Since the formal school program was largely confined to young children, great efforts were also concentrated on developing a voluntary system of adult education. The Prosvita societies had

Visti, June 5, 1942, pp. 3–4; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 27, 1943, p. 4, quoting D. Nitsenko in *Nova Ukraïna* (Kharkov).

[41] Prykhod'ko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, June 5, 1942, pp. 3–4.

[42] Druzhynnyk in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 10, 1941, p. 2.

[43] Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), p. 28.

[44] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 29, 1942, p. 2; November 15, 1941, p. 2; and November 18, 1941, p. 3 (referring to an article in *Dnvin* [Krivoi Rog], September, 1941).

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186 517 515 been founded by the nationalist intelligentsia of the East Ukraine many years before the Revolution. They were now revived, after long suppression by the Communist regime, to carry on the work of developing national culture and inculcating a feeling of national identity. The two aims could be combined because all nationalist Ukrainians felt it essential to instill a love of the indigenous popular arts and customs, emphasizing their distinctive nature. That this effort had a political as well as a cultural significance is indicated by the fact that not only the Soviet regime (both before 1941 and upon reconquest, as in Kharkov)[45] but the German police as well attacked the Prosvita societies, and in the Reichskommissariat they were able, for varying periods, to lead only a clandestine life. The desire for national expression was shared by so many, however, that the Germans felt it was impossible to dam up all outlets; therefore the Prosvita was generally permitted, though under close observation.[46] Together with the church (and a few local societies not using the Prosvita name but having the same function), it was one of the few organizations of a nationalist character which was not under direct German control.

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533 517 186 515 The work of the Prosvita groups, although arranged in various ways in different localities, may be classified under four general headings. Playing a major role everywhere were musical activities, particularly choral groups, in which the Ukrainians had always excelled, and which served as a powerful intellectual and emotional stimulus to nationalist feeling, since most of the songs were distinctively Ukrainian. In addition, groups of *bandura* players (the *bandura* is a small lute-like stringed instrument indigenous to the Ukraine) were sponsored, and orchestras were trained. In the larger centers, Prosvita collaborated with regular professional musical organizations, such as conservatories and operas, to produce nationalist-inspired performances. For example, operas were reopened in Kiev and Kharkov, and offered a considerable repertoire of native Ukrainian pieces (*Taras Bul'ba*, *Natalka Poltavka*, etc.) as well as traditional Western

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[45] Cf. *Nastup*, September 26, 1943, p. 3 (based on *Vinnyts'ki Visti*, August 29, 1943), on the destruction of Prosvita and its personnel in Kharkov during the Soviet interlude in February-March, 1943.

[46] MS E: PS 3943, May 22, 1942.

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operas such as *Madame Butterfly* and *Les Cloches de Corneville*. Like other forms of national expression, however, operatic performances ran afoul of the Nazi hatred of independent activity. At first, the desirable places in the Kiev opera were reserved for Germans, and then, in December, 1942, the performances were suspended altogether, an action which aroused the indignation of all elements of the population.[47]

Within a matter of days after the Red Army was driven out, active theatrical groups likewise sprang up, usually with Prosvita sponsorship, even in the smaller cities of the East Ukraine. For example, a theater had been started in Zhitomir before the first month of German occupation was past.[48] Even in cities like Chernigov and Simferopol' (in the Crimea), where evidences of nationalist activity were scanty, the theater was soon in full career.[49] Since the players were generally amateurs interested in using this medium of expression of their nationalist feeling, the performances were nationalist in content as well as language (evidently to a greater extent than the opera which, being composed largely of professional performers, was imbued with an "all-Union," i.e., Russian, character, at least behind the scenes).[50] Some presentations were so strongly imbued with nationalist ideology that they were censored by the Germans; the author of one of the most popular, Constantine Hupalo, was arrested for nationalist activity.[51]

Prosvita and related groups sponsored a wide variety of more directly educational activities. These included lectures, valued as a means of propagating knowledge of the language as well as for their content; libraries and reading rooms, vital to the spread of the printed word in view of the extreme scarcity of even periodical literature; nationalist cultural work in the schools; and research and discussion on themes of national history and ethnography. In the more vigorous and less restricted societies, like the

[47] Interrogation of Shtepa, CXLVa 78; PS 1198.

[48] *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, September 15, 1941, p. 1 (from *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* [Zhitomir], August 3, 1941).

[49] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, December 6, 1941, p. 4 (based on an interview with Theodore Pipa, the Chernigov editor).

[50] Cf. Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 15, 1942, p. 3.

[51] His play, entitled *The Triumph of Procurator Dal'shii*, was a drama of the Ukrainian nationalist movement under Soviet rule (*OUN u Viini*, p. 74).

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186 Prosvita in Kharkov, these activities were greatly extended. The
● 515 latter group operated a House of Popular Culture which served
517 as a center for most nationalist organizations in the city, and came close to developing into an unofficial government.[52] Moreover, under the leadership of the energetic Professor V. V. Dubrovs'kyi, it undertook economic as well as purely cultural activities, such as book publishing and the provision of material aid for needy teachers and students.[53] Some indication of the scope of Prosvita's activities in Kharkov is provided by the fact that membership reached one thousand, while four thousand persons attended one of its concert series.[54]

In most places *Prosvita* and other cultural activities appear to have developed quite independently of the Nationalist party organizers from the west. To a certain extent the ideology of the Nationalists, especially that of the OUN-B, made them contemptuous of such gradual and unspectacular methods of developing nationalist strength.[55] To be sure, in centers such as Kiev and Zhitomir, which were strongly permeated by the OUN-M forces, cooperative relations existed between the latter and the local founders of Prosvita, but the Nationalist party did not have the personnel to carry on cultural work itself and apparently did

[52] Cf. Serednopolets'kyi in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, February 24, 1942, p. 2, on organizations operating in the House of National Culture. Erich Koch, in his letter to Rosenberg of March 16, 1943 (PS 192), complained that the Wehrmacht permitted the Kharkov Prosvita to become a sort of national government, and its role as a political as well as a cultural force is confirmed by Interview 73.

[53] *Nastup*, September 26, 1943, p. 3, based on an interview with a leading member of the Kharkov Prosvita, Professor P. Petrenko, in *Vinnyts'ki Visti*, August 29, 1943.

[54] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, February 10, 1943, p. 2.

[55] For example, Ievhen (Eugene) Stakhiv ("E. Pavliuk"), "Borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu na skhidno-ukraïns'kykh zemliakh, 1941–1944: Spomyny ochevydtsia i uchasnyka" (The Struggle of the Ukrainian People in the Eastern Ukrainian Lands, 1941–44: Memories of an Eyewitness and Participant), in *Kalendar Provydinnia na 1947 rik. Stovaryshennia Ukraïns'kikh Katolykiv v Amerytsi* (Calendar for 1947 of the Providence Society of Ukrainian Catholics in America) (Philadelphia: Ameryka, n.d.), p. 40, writes that it was necessary for OUN-B members to withdraw from Prosvita, amateur groups, etc., as these (after the introduction of the Reichskommissariat) were only tools of the Germans, and nationalist participation in them gave color to the Communist propaganda which represented the OUN as an agency of the Germans. On the other hand, the clandestine *Biuleten'* (No. 4, previously cited), in calling for an extension of OUN-B activity to all fields of life, criticizes those who condemn activity which is not of a strictly terroristic, revolutionary nature as "Prosvitanstvo."

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not find the Prosvita organization well adapted to its tactic of underground work after German suppression.[56] On the other hand, the extremely important Kharkov Prosvita was organized almost entirely by local residents who had in many cases been associated with the Prosvita of pre-Soviet days, and who were unassociated with, or even to some extent hostile to, the OUN-M.[57] Here again there is strong indication of the survival in the East Ukraine of leadership capable of taking direction of important aspects of national life. That this leadership was directed to such a considerable extent to the less aggressive aspects of national development, however, indicates that a certain gap existed during the war years between nationalism in the East and the West Ukraine.

The means employed in the educational systems and in the cultural societies for propagating the national ideology can be classed for the most part under the heading of oral propaganda. The face-to-face type of communication has a long history of effective use in the east Slavic countries and, under the name "oral agitation," has been widely cultivated as a means of strengthening the Communist regime. Hence the population was used to this type of propaganda. Moreover, it was especially suited to the work of the nationalist groups, which were seeking to spread ideas frowned upon by the German authorities. The latter could suppress a performance or dissolve a society, arrest or execute a leader, but with their small number of personnel, their ignorance of the language, and their lack of sufficiently numerous and reliable local agents, they could not overhear everything and thus prevent the clever teacher or cultural worker from communicating political concepts to his audience. Since nationalist propagandists were so few and ill-equipped by organization and training to cope with the gigantic task of indoctrinating a population of thirty million, however, the problem of securing access to mass communication media under control of the propaganda departments of the municipal administrations was vitally important. Through such media nationalism might reach thousands

[56] Interview 61.
[57] Interviews 57, 73.

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education of children, and self-control.[42] Generally, however, the clergy was unable to reach many of the Soviet-trained youth; in several villages the latter even objected to returning the church buildings to religious use, preferring that they should be used for Prosvita clubs.[43]

One of the chief agencies by which secular national concepts penetrated the village was indeed the Prosvita organization. How effective it was in general is impossible to say in the absence of more detailed evidence, but in some cases it evidently did at least provide reading material and some cultural contacts of a nationalist character. In this respect the rural teachers were especially important. There is considerable difference of opinion as to their effectiveness as propagators of nationalism, some observers feeling that they did an excellent job under difficult circumstances, others asserting that they lacked national consciousness and were imbued with Communist ideas.[44]

The great difficulty was in finding persons who were sufficiently educated and receptive to nationalist concepts to act as transmitters of propaganda. In the Podolian village referred to above, for example, the physician, who had been a UNR officer, played the chief role in stimulating nationalist feeling. He was greatly assisted in his task by his wife, the village *feldsher* (a sort of trained nurse or secondary category of medical worker); the priest described above; four teachers; and a lawyer. These constituted the "real intelligentsia" as compared with the "half-intelligentsia," consisting of the village elder, the village secretary, two cooperative workers, three kolkhoz directors, three agronomists, four bookkeepers, and three account-keepers, who were described as having "no unified outlook," being still "under the influence of Bolshevik ideology."[45] This criticism of the lower strata of clerical workers in the Soviet intelligentsia, which formed such a key segment of the rural population, is not uncommon in nationalist

[42] *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7.
[43] Iurii Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 18–19, 1942, p. 3.
[44] Cf. *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 18, 1941, for favorable reports; and Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), pp. 28–29, for some criticisms of the rural teachers.
[45] *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7.

— soldiers of the Ukrainian Army, politicians, state officials etc. had to go into exile. The neighbour states which had divided the Ukrainian territory among themselves had one common interest: to prevent the growth of a Ukrainian movement. However, Czechoslovakia met the cultural needs of the Ukrainian emigrants. On the recommendation of President T. G. Masaryk the Czechoslovakian Government from 1921 procured funds for the creation of Ukrainian Academic Schools in CSR — University, Ukrainian Economic School, Pedagogic University etc. In Prague prominent Ukrainian scholars were living, and here the political life of the Ukrainian emigration developed.

In Berlin the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at the Berlin University was created in 1927. A Ukrainian Scientific Institute was founded in Warsaw in 1929. These institutes developed a considerable activity.

The Ukrainian emigrants, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army who had left Ukraine with their Government in 1920, remained faithful to the traditions of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Ukrainians in exile were that part of the Ukrainian nation who could speak freely to the world in the name of their enslaved brethren.

The Ukrainians in America are mostly from the Western territories of Ukraine — Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine. They are grouped around insurance associations. The oldest Ukrainian organisation in USA is the Ukrainian National Association in New York, founded in 1894. This Association publishes the daily *Svoboda*. The Ukrainian Workingmen's Association in Scranton, Pa., founded in 1910, publishes the weekly *People's Will*. There are also smaller organisations of a similar nature. Between the two World Wars the Ukrainians in Poland had considerable financial support for their cultural institutions, especially for the schools, from American and Canadian Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians in USA are mostly workers; in Canada, farmers. The number of the Ukrainians in the United States is about 1 million, in Canada about 300,000. The Ukrainians in Canada have their co-operative associations, educational institutions and private schools. The centres of the Ukrainian emigration are Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal and Hamilton. The strongest political organisation of the Canadian Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, publishing *Ukrainian Voice* in Winnipeg. Among the Ukrainians in USA and Canada the Communist Party is conducting its destructive activities, possessing the means even for the publishing of big daily papers in Ukrainian

[468] like *Ukrainian Daily News* in New York. However, the Communist agency in America and Canada did not attain the success it had hoped. Among the Ukrainian emigration, the democratic organisations have decisive influence.

In South America too, in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and other countries, there are Ukrainian emigrants. These are mostly workers and farmers. They have their cultural and political organisations and publish periodicals in Ukrainian.

The central organisations of the Ukrainians in USA, Ukrainian Congress Committee (UCC), in Canada, Canadian Ukrainian Committee (CUC) and of the countries of South America, created in 1948 the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference for the co-ordination of their activities in the interest of the oppressed Ukrainian people.

741 illiterates to learn to read by means of special
517 courses, and it gave scholarships to worthy students. So, it is not surprising that the Poles did not care for the "Prosvita". Thus in the last ten years all of the 600 local groups in Polesia and Volhynia and 70% of all local groups west of the Shan were dissolved. In 1938 Warsaw intensified its war against the "Prosvita"; in that year 104 local groups /95/ were dissolved and in the first five months of 1939 the same happened even to two district centers with 168 local groups. In spite of that, the Ukrainians organized 375 new local groups from 1936 to 1938.

575 Peasants and agriculturists numbering 160,000
874 united in the "Silskyj Hospodar" ("farmer") in order to arrange for or to obtain agricultural training. The "Silskyj Hospodar" employed approximately 150 social agronomists, that is, agriculturists with diplomas, who supervised improvement of the soil, methods of cultivating, seed production and whole farm establishments. They conducted courses and competitions in which the young farmers who were eager for knowledge actively participated. Special veterinarians of the society and of the dairy farm cooperatives supervised the livestock.

562 The Ukrainian women of Galicia were anxious
575 not to be second to the men. Their society "Soyuz Ukrayinok" numbered 60,000 members in 1200 village circles. In the national life of the people the Ukrainian woman occupies a high position, as is the case among all healthy races. In times of national misfortune the mothers are the preservers of the old manners and customs; the children learn the language and the traditional songs from their mothers, to whom the rising generations are entrusted. Their glowing patriotism is not surpassed by the men. At the same time the West Ukrainian woman is deeply religious and tirelessly industrious; she excels in the household.

000 Everything in West Ukraine is education work.

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Everything in West Ukraine is education work.

462 The woman, too, is brought up in order to play her
512 part properly within the family: she must see
515 to it that everyone eats from his own plate, that everyone sleeps in his own bed - not eight on a wide chest -, that clothing is taken off at night and that shirts are changed; airing the rooms is not to be forgotten, and it is unhealthy for children not to get out of the house a single time the whole winter long. Fresh air does no harm. But where to get the shoes and warm clothes for the little ones?

575 A further, very important society was the
871 "Ridna /96/ Shkola" ("National School"). It closed the worst gaps which the Poles had hewn into the Ukrainian school system. There were 3662 Ukrainian public schools in Galicia when the Poles took over undivided rule. In 1937/1938 there were only 496 left. All the rest of the schools were Polonized, so that in the academic year 1937/1938 only 59,300 of over one million Ukrainian school children were able to attend purely Ukrainian schools. Among 307 state secondary schools in Poland, there were only five Ukrainian classical schools in the academic year 1936/1937. All of the 1094 state technical schools were Polish and naturally also all higher institutions of learning. The means at the disposal of the "Ridna Shkola" - needless to say - were not by any means adequate to teach all Ukrainian children their mother tongue. Nevertheless, by means of the savings of its 104,000 members, it was able to maintain 540 kindergartens, 33 public schools, 12 classical schools, 11 colleges, 16 schools for specialists and professionals and 4 boarding schools. (53) The

53. Taken from the respective annual reports of the West Ukrainian cooperatives and self-aid organizations.

tension between Poland and the Ukraine in the

575 first half of 1939 threatened the educational
871 work of the "Ridna Shkola" just as it did that of the women's society, the society of agriculturists, the "Provista" and the cooperatives.

871 The efforts of the Ukrainians to raise the level of popular education are admirable. When
873 at the beginning of their rule in Galicia the Poles deprived the Ukrainians of their few professorial chairs, the Ukrainians forthwith founded a "Secret University" which gave its lectures during 1922 and 1923 in private houses. At the end of each lecture the professors who were taken partly from universities of East Ukraine, partly from Austrian universities, announced to their listeners the time and place of their next lecture. In the end this "university" collapsed and the lecturers were arrested.

873 Two years after the enactment of the Ukrain-
178 ian law of autonomy of 1922 a Ukrainian university was supposed to have been founded - but in the summer of 1939 there was not yet a single Ukrainian professorial chair. In Lwów a Polish professor lectured on Ukrainian literature in the
241 Polish language, in /Facing page 96/ /Map VII: Agricultural Zones Under Cultivation. In the wooded zones of the north rye, oats and potatoes predominate. In the northern zones of steppes, wheat and sugar beets are added (winter wheat in the west and summer wheat in the east). A third zone on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and in the foreland of the Caucasus produces wheat, corn and barley. Adjoining this toward the west there is a corn-growing zone (with wheat in the north and barley in the south), whereas toward the northeast there is a zone extending to the middle part of the Volga with summer wheat and rye. Around the Caspian Sea is the pasture area of desert steppes, in the mountains, woodland and grasslands with some barley cultivation. The cultivation of cotton which has been recently undertaken along the coasts of the Black Sea and

[Ukrainian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

641 [562] Art. 102. Women in the Ukrainian SSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, State, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, State aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[563] Art. 103. Equality of rights of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, State, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

[659] Art. 104. In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the Ukrainian SSR is separated from the State and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.

Art. 105. In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR are guaranteed by law:

(a) Freedom of speech;
(b) Freedom of the press;
(c) Freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings;
(d) Freedom of street processions and demonstrations.

These civil rights are ensured by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights.

[575] Art. 106. In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the Ukrainian SSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations — trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organizations, sport and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and State.

[694] Art. 107. Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No person may be placed under arrest except by decision of a court or with the sanction of a procurator.

Art. 108. The inviolability of the homes of citizens and privacy of correspondence are protected by law.

Art. 109. The Ukrainian SSR affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation.